

Anti-Communism, Anti-Semitism Boil Up

East Europe: Reaction and Resistance



Right-wing mobs rampage in Romanian capital of Bucharest, June 13.

Imperialist governments and the Western media howled with indignation when ten thousand miners descended on Bucharest, the capital of Romania, to deal with ultrarightists who had burned down police headquarters, invaded the Interior Ministry and sought to take over the central TV studios. "Romanian Miners Invade Bucharest" wailed the *New York Times* (15 June). "The Romanian revolution, if it ever took place, is certainly over," lamented *Le Monde* in Paris. The Foreign Office in London inveighed against "rent-a-mob coal miners." The U.S. State Department denounced "vigilante violence that departs from the commonly accepted norms of democracy," and cut off humanitarian aid for earthquake victims. Washington's "norms" would be to let anti-Communist riots prepare the way for a coup.

As bankrupt Stalinist regimes crumble throughout East Europe, the imperialists seek to create the impression of a steamroller heading toward capitalism against which resistance is futile. But in Poland in early June railway workers tied up freight and passenger traffic in a wildcat strike against brutal austerity policies which have produced mass unemployment and hunger. In Bulgaria, the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party won a majority in parliament in June elections. Reactionary forces had pinned great hopes on Romania, anticipating that the bloodshed during the December uprising could spark the violent anti-Communist pogroms needed to carry out capitalist restoration at one blow. But the Romanian workers repeatedly mobilized in response to government appeals (in January, February and again in June) when



Romanian miners patrol Bucharest June 14, answering Iliescu's appeal to suppress rightist power bid.

Romanian Miners Suppress Counterrevolutionaries

they saw the threat of counterrevolution.

For seven weeks, right-wing students had occupied University Square in downtown Bucharest, the capital of Romania, declaring it a "neo-Communist free zone." They demanded that former members of the Communist Party, which ran the country until the overthrow of the brutal Ceausescu regime last December, be banned from office for ten years. This would have excluded virtually the entire National Salvation Front, which won more than two-thirds of the vote in mid-May elections. When ministers of the Front sought to negotiate with the protesters, the government emissaries were run out. The imperialist press lionized the protesters as paragons of "democracy," but they were widely despised by the working people of Romania as elitist ultra-nationalists.

On the early morning of Wednesday, June 13, police cleared University Square of protesters who had blocked traffic on one of Bucharest's main arteries. That afternoon several thousand students retook the square, setting fire to buses and police trucks. They then used these trucks to ram the front door of the police headquarters, and set the building ablaze along with a couple dozen vehicles around the building. In response, President Ion Iliescu called on the citizenry to fill the streets around government headquarters to "defend democracy." The *Washington Post* (14 June) reported that "many of the casualties were suffered in fighting outside the television station when factory workers rushed into the city to protect the government":

"Alarm bells were sounded in the factories. By 8:30 p.m. 1,000 workers arrived to liberate the television station, already

occupied by the protesters. The workers then gathered in Victory Square.

"Plumes of black smoke poured from the police headquarters.... The crowd ransacked the building, throwing documents and furniture from the windows, before setting it on fire.

"Teenagers drove hijacked police vans into the front doors to break them down while the crowd cheered them on, chanting, 'The second revolution!'

"The protesters also set fire to the Ministry of Interior and tried to penetrate the former Securitate [secret police] headquarters...."

Meanwhile, thousands of coal miners in the Jiu Valley had mobilized and after an overnight trip arrived in the capital before dawn on Thursday. They quickly took over University Square and, with most of the students gone after a night of rioting, seized anyone who looked suspicious. Some rightists were stripped of their clothes, others ran a gauntlet of punches, kicks and blows from rubber hoses before being hauled off to police stations. Meanwhile, typographers refused to print the opposition newspaper *Romania Libera*, and delegations of workers from around the country marched through the streets in columns. Speaking later at a stadium rally, President Ion Iliescu thanked the miners and said he hoped they would "maintain and develop this spirit of combativeness."

The imperialist press screamed bloody murder: the *New York Times* (15 June) reported with the genuine horror of class privilege that the miners, "in grimy work clothes and helmets, their faces blackened by soot," went after "well-dressed professors, students, photographers, reporters, mothers with children and girls walking their dogs." American author

continued on page 6



Jandke/Action Press

Fascist skinheads "celebrate" Hitler's birthday in East Berlin, April 21.

Racist "Light Up the Border" Campaign

Vigilante Terror Along Mexican Border

For the last several months, right-wing racists have been massing along the border south of San Diego, turning it into a war zone in which immigrants are the targets. The vigilantes drive to the edge of San Ysidro and line up hundreds of cars with their headlights on, pointed toward Mexico. They seek to intimidate those making the dangerous crossing at night and aid the roundups by the INS Border Patrol ("la migra"). This "Light Up the Border" campaign is spearheading a wave of violence against "illegal aliens."

Last month the *Los Angeles Times* (26 May) reported:

"The lighting movement, which began with small gatherings last winter, has expanded rapidly and grown into huge, highly publicized protests involving 1,000 or more people, energizing supporters and opponents on both sides of the frontier."

Across the road, courageous counter-demonstrators have gathered, holding up mirrors and aluminum foil to reflect the headlights' glare back toward the line of cars. They hold banners proclaiming "No Apartheid on the Borders" and chant "Somos un pueblo sin fronteras" (We are one people without borders).

So far in 1990, there have been seven reported killings in this DMZ, and countless victims have been robbed, beaten and terrorized. Following Congressional hearings this spring, U.S. Representative Jim Bates cited a "dramatic increase in deaths, in violence and in the abuse of human beings" at the border. Bates charged that the INS "has taken on a

kind of military or paramilitary atmosphere." In April, the American Friends Service Committee released a report documenting 20 people shot and killed over the last four years near San Diego by the Border Patrol.

On May 18, a 12-year-old boy from the Mexican state of Michoacán, Emilio Jiménez, was shot and killed by a man who claims he was "target shooting" a high-powered rifle and accidentally hit the boy. Then on May 26 a Border Patrol cop fired three bullets into a van of "suspected illegal aliens," shooting a 16-year-old Mexican boy in the neck, and a woman in the arm. The *L.A. Times* reported, "The shooting is the third in a week that has raised questions about the deadly use of force by San Diego enforcement agencies."

"Illegals" are prey to both cops and outlaws. Recently, 27 immigrants were held hostage at a South Central L.A. drop house by smugglers demanding \$1,000 each in ransom from their families. After the LAPD "rescued" them on June 13, they were hauled off to an INS detention center where the new ransom is a bond fee of \$5,000! In late May, when the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade demonstrated at the Pico-Union detention center, the LAPD came out in full riot gear, beating and arresting many of the protesters. We demand: drop the charges!

The two most visible organizers of the "lighting" movement are Muriel Watson, whose late husband was a Border Patrol pilot, and former San Diego mayor Roger

Hedgecock, now a radio talk-show host, who spews out racist filth, claiming immigrants are narco-terrorists. This echoes INS spokesman Duke Austin, who claims that "interdiction of drugs and illegals is almost synonymous." Meanwhile, the fascist "Warboys," a split-off from the Ku Klux Klan, threatened to bring out skinheads from San Diego and Orange counties, warning "wetback lovers" it would be "war with the white man, down on Dairy Mart road."

As we go to press, the "lighting" movement said it would suspend its border mobs. But not until the Border Patrol announced it was installing floodlights in the area, and San Diego cops said they would deploy a SWAT team. As part of a campaign to "regain control of the border," the new INS commis-

sioner Gary McNary announced plans to formally deport (and possibly jail) "aliens" who "repeatedly slip into the United States." But to do this they require vastly expanded detention centers—modern-day concentration camps.

While the reactionaries tremble, we greet the infusion of Hispanic workers from south of the border, many with long experience in social struggle in their countries, who can serve as a human bridge linking up class struggle throughout the Americas. The Spartacist League calls on labor to mobilize its muscle to stop deportations, smash racist immigration laws, defend immigrants against racist vigilante and police attacks, provide union protection against INS raids, and demand full citizenship rights for the foreign-born and their families! ■



TROTSKY

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans

With the collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracies and the ensuing drive toward capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe, the old plagues of anti-Semitism, violent anti-Communism and fratricidal nationalism have again come to the fore. Before World War II, fascism, monarchism and other forms of bloody reaction reigned supreme in this region. In discussions with his Greek supporters in 1932, Trotsky maintained that only

proletarian revolution could overcome the deep-going national antagonisms and forge a Socialist Federation of the Balkans.

Prior to the war there were the Tesniaki (left Social Democrats) in Bulgaria, who supported a Balkan federation. At that time, this slogan played a big role. We took it up although what was proposed was a [bourgeois] democratic federation. It is now clear that no democratic power exists in the Balkans that could make such a federation a reality. Rather this is a task for the proletariat. The perspective of a workers' congress, a peasants' movement, a general strike, that is, the prelude to insurrection in Greece, will pose the question of the Balkan federation with greater force. "How can anyone imagine a victorious revolution in a Greece caught in this birdcage system of the Balkan states, hemmed in on all sides by dictatorship and fascism?" some will say. We will answer: "A revolutionary perspective is impossible without a federation of the Balkan states, which obviously will not stop here, but rather will extend into the federation of the United Soviet States of Europe."

—Leon Trotsky, "A Discussion on Greece" (Spring 1932)



LENIN



WV Photo

S.F. Protest Against AIDS Witchhunts

SAN FRANCISCO—Spartacist contingent (above) at June 19 protest against the obscene U.S. immigration policy of excluding foreigners who test positive for HIV (the AIDS virus). The demonstration was held on the eve of the Sixth International Conference on AIDS. Partisan Defense Committee sign demands: "Down with INS Homophobic, Racist, Anti-Communist Restrictions on Immigration!" ACT UP, one of the organizers of protests throughout the week, held civil disobedience demonstrations in which mass arrests took place, while at the same time carrying a banner begging: "George Bush, Use Your Power." Bush, meanwhile, was attending a fund-raiser for anti-

homosexual arch-bigot Senator Jesse Helms, author of the HIV-exclusion policy.

The city massed the biggest police detail since the 1984 Democratic convention, with squads "discreetly" hidden in the Moscone Center wings, ready to spring. Below, cops drill for "crowd control." As SF gays well know, the city cops have a long history of anti-gay violence. Last October police rioted against an ACT UP demo, sweeping through the Castro district and savagely clubbing people. Despite all the peace and "gay sensitivity" talk from the top cop brass in the weeks before the conference, the local powers were prepared to use an iron fist against AIDS protesters.



McCarthy/NY Times

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"Jalalabad Zindabad"—Long Live the Victory at Jalalabad!



Jalalabad, 7 July 1989—Thousands celebrate hard-won victory over months-long *mujahedin* siege.

WV/Le Bolchévik Photo

U.S. Sore Losers Over Afghanistan

Amidst the triumphalist hoopla over the "collapse of Communism" in East Europe, the CIA is privately depressed over one of their biggest defeats: Afghanistan. For the past decade the Langley spies poured billions in arms and aid to Afghan counterrevolutionaries with the bipartisan support of Congress. Their aim was to overthrow the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul and install a motley collection of reactionary mullahs who kill teachers for teaching girls how to read. But the so-called

"final" offensive by the *mujahedin* (holy warriors) last year, launched after the precipitous Soviet withdrawal ordered by Gorbachev, shattered against the resolute stand by the left-nationalist PDPA government forces in the battle at Jalalabad.

"In a practical sense, it's all over," admitted a "senior official" of the Pakistani regime of Benazir Bhutto, which had put its armed forces at the disposal of the CIA effort (in exchange for a hefty rake-off in weapons and

aid money). Hanging out at a "diplomatic gathering" in Islamabad, *New York Times* reporter John F. Burns in a 20 May article noted the glum mood that victory was "no longer a realistic hope" and there was a "conviction that the guerrillas cannot win the war." The Kabul regime has not been militarily defeated and, in fact, "the Soviets have been encouraged in their hopes by the debility of the guerrillas since their defeat at Jalalabad."

And we are proud to say that the

Partisan Defense Committee and the sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) played a role in the Jalalabad defense last year with an international campaign of humanitarian assistance to the civilian victims of the *mujahedin* siege, raising over \$44,000 in less than two months. While the anti-Soviet "left" shunned the PDC campaign, through our efforts thousands of people worldwide were able to contribute to handing a defeat to imperialism.

Letters

Zionist Rulers and the Masada Complex

To the Editor:

It is clear that Ami Popper's murder of seven Palestinian workers on May 20 is not merely the act of an individual loser jilted by his girlfriend, but is the statistically predictable result of Israel's militarized racist society which has systematically denied the humanity and dignity of the Palestinians for decades. (How come we know the name and personal situation of Popper but not of the Palestinian victims and their families?) Indeed, as "Zionist Terror on the Rampage" (WV 503 [1 June]) explained, the Israeli police trying to quell the ensuing protests killed almost three times as many people as Popper did, showing clearly where the real blame lies, as if there could any longer be any doubt.

But there might still be those who, while unwilling to support the current actions of the Israeli state, believe that its actions are somehow a deviation from the original, progressive (or even "socialist") Zionism. Supporters of the "humane" Zionist, bourgeois-defeatist Peace Now or Yesh G'vul ["There Is a Limit"] groups in Israel, whatever their individual sincerity and courage in risking jail, come to mind here. The following piece of intellectual history should help debunk this "left" Zionist viewpoint:

Many people are familiar with the story of the religious Zealots at Masada—you know, where militant Jewish partisans at Masada finally chose to die by their own hands as free individuals rather than betray their principles and submit

to Vespasian's army and Roman rule. I remember being taught this moving story of human freedom in Hebrew school, along with a sermon on the necessity of defending modern "democratic" Israel. New inductees into the Israeli army are sworn in at the ruins of the Masada fortress where they vow that "Masada Shall Not Fall Again," thus giving this particular myth a special place in the Hebrew-Israeli national identity, and indicating a very dangerous suicide-persecution complex in people who have a substantial nuclear arsenal.

But the Zionists "create facts" in several ways. The Masada legend isn't true. First, the Zealots didn't voluntarily go to Masada to defend their religious principles on independent soil. They were expelled from Jerusalem by their fellow Jews. The Judean national liberation struggle against Roman imperialism in 66-70 had (allowing for considerable overlap and local variation due to primitive social conditions) two wings. This was particularly true in the major city of Jerusalem, where Simon bar Giora led the heavily taxed and oppressed artisans, peasants and workers, while Eleazar ben Simon represented the interests of the merchants and Judean nobility as the priestly head of the Jerusalem Zealots, from whom the Masada defenders were finally drawn. In short, the mass of revolutionary Jews in Jerusalem thought the Zealots were divisive sectarians and kicked them out.

Second, the Zealots did not quite

choose suicide over surrender. Instead, the men murdered their own families (who were not present at the decisive meeting) before knocking themselves off. This fact is left out of most Zionist histories as it doesn't really have the right freedom-loving military-romantic ring to it.

Flavius Josephus' *The Jewish War* is the only surviving source for the Masada legend. It was first translated in its entirety from the original Greek, and thus made available to the assimilated Jewish intellectuals who were attracted to early Zionism, in the late nineteenth century. Since *The Jewish War* is the ultimate source for the facts above, the

early Zionist intellectuals knew that they were falsifying history, and knew who they were siding with.

Political tendencies define themselves in part by choosing their ancestors. Marx chose Spartacus, the leader of the greatest slave revolt in Ancient Rome (73-71 B.C.E.), "the most splendid fellow in the whole of ancient history. Great general (no Garibaldi), noble character, real representative of the ancient proletariat" (Letter to Engels, 27 February 1861). The Zionists willingly chose child-murderers rejected by their own people. To each his own.

Sincerely yours,
Jeff Vogel

People's Daily World Banquet: Swallow This One If You Can

Boston
22 June 1990

To the Editor:

With regard to the article, "CPUSA In Turbulent Waters" in the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* [No. 504, 15 June], it seems the internal divisions in the Communist Party can reconcile when it comes to common support to the African National Congress in South Africa. On June 10 we attended the Annual People's Daily World fund-raising benefit here in Boston where Dr. Bernard Magubane, an ANC representative, was the keynote speaker. After laying out a long and detailed history of the struggle against apartheid, Magubane announced near the end of his talk that the ANC's military wing, Spear of the Nation, had recently held discussions with the "South

African Defense Forces" about fusing their forces. This was followed by tumultuous applause from the CPers present!

It doesn't take a Marxist to understand that the SADF butchers have the blood of thousands of black workers and youth in South Africa on their hands. It is the armed fist of repression of apartheid, the state that has kept racist South African capitalism in power. To end apartheid, this state must be smashed and any illusions to the contrary must be fought. These negotiations will either be purely suicidal or, if not, result in the ANC forces aiding and abetting the apartheid army in the crushing of black workers' strikes and township protests. As cheerleaders for such a process, the future role of the CP appears grim and grisly indeed.

Comradely,
Lisa Martin

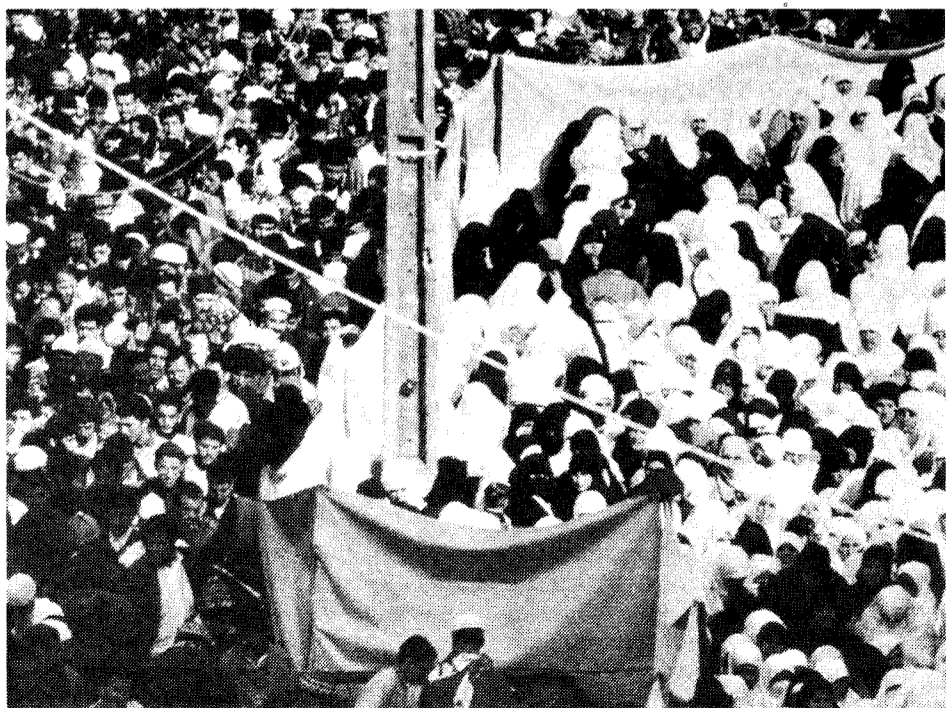
Algeria

Fundamentalism Against Women

Local elections on June 12 sent an electric shock through Algeria, and shock waves through North Africa. While the ruling National Liberation Front (FLN) won barely a third of the municipal councils, the opposition Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) took a majority of the cities and towns, and won control of 32 of Algeria's 48 *wilayas* (provinces). The vote was first of all a repudiation of the corrupt and decomposing FLN, which has ruled the country since winning independence from France in 1962. But it also represented a dramatic surge of support for Islamic fundamentalism, with its appeal to the urban poor and youth, and *jihad* (holy war) against any and all democratic rights for women.

After army troops shot down hundreds of protesters during the hunger riots which shook Algeria in 1988, President Chadli Bendjedid responded by stepping up "liberalization" of the economy (selling off state-owned companies to multinationals, privatizing agriculture, lifting price controls), which only increased unemployment and inflation, and promising "free elections." Having been repudiated at the polls, Chadli is now under pressure from the FIS to dissolve parliament and call national elections. Meanwhile the FLN's ability to rule is being challenged as sanitation, health and gas station workers have gone on strike. In response to the fundamentalist vote, there have been calls for various "democratic" initiatives. But what's needed is a *proletarian* answer to the advance of Islamic reaction.

In the days after June 12, FIS leader "Sheik" Abassi Madani soothingly called for good relations with the former colonial master, which French president Mitterrand reciprocated. Experts talked of the Front's "moderation," saying it had nothing in common with Khomeinist fanaticism. But while Madani appeals to businessmen with his criticism of the FLN's "socialist drift," preacher-demagogue Ali Belhadj is whipping up the poor in the mosques. At the Friday prayers he proclaimed that "France will pay dearly" for its bloody massacres, such as at Sétif in 1945. He exhorted his audience that "the West and France... want to use women as a card against us." And he declared that "Islam was the victor" in the vote, "not democracy," and that Muslims will not be satisfied until "the restoration of the caliphate," the Islamic theocratic empire which stretched from Afghanistan to Algeria.



Women segregated by curtain at Friday prayers at the Kouba mosque in Algiers.

Algiers, May 10—Mass demonstration against Islamic fundamentalists, behind the slogan "No to Fascism."



The Front's election triumph has already encouraged fundamentalists throughout North Africa, particularly next door in Tunisia where the government party just "won" a rigged vote. In Algeria, in addition to relief at the end of the FLN's political monopoly, there is growing fear over what Islamic fanatics in local power may do, shutting down discos, banning alcohol, and particularly forcing the veil on emancipated women. The FIS is already showing its class allegiances: allied with traders in the *trabendo* black markets, it is urging neighborhoods to break the sanitation strike by picking up accumulated garbage. The *New York Times* (25 June) reports that many secular Algerians now look to the army which has been the arbiter of Algerian politics since 1962.

Holy War on Women

On April 20, more than 100,000 demonstrators marched through Algiers in a show of strength by the Islamic Front. Pouring out of mosques across the city, the demonstrators—exclusively male, since the organizers had prohibited participation by women—converged on the presidential palace. The fundamentalists were joined by masses of the permanently unemployed youth from Bab-el-Oued and other poor quarters of the capital where the army carried out an unforgettable bloodbath in October 1988. As they advanced, the hundreds of parade marshals removed any women en-

countered along the route. At the palace, a list of demands was read calling for dissolving the exclusively FLN parliament and a commitment by the president to abide by Islamic *Sharia* law. This specifies punishments including stoning accused "adulteresses."

The ruling party had originally called a counterdemonstration for the same day as the FIS march, then canceled it at the last minute. Then on May 17, the FLN held its own mass demonstration in Algiers, also well over 100,000 strong, busing in supporters from its rural bailiwicks. This pro-government march was also devoid of women, and mainly emphasized patriotic slogans. The week before, on May 10, a march by "democratic" parties, including the Stalinists of the Party of the Socialist Vanguard (PAGS) and the Assembly for Culture and Democracy (RCD) based in the Berber-speaking region of Kabylie, as well as many feminists, brought out equal numbers. And on June 1, the Kabylie-based Front of Socialist Forces (FFS) mobilized an estimated 200,000 in the capital. *Le Monde* (2 June) reported: "It is surprising to see in Algeria tens of thousands of men wearing a badge saying, in Arabic, Berber and French, 'Hands Off My Sister'...."

The rights of women are at the center of the political agitation in Algeria. The rise of the fundamentalists has been marked by a virtual campaign of terror against women they feel do not conform to Koranic strictures. In the early 1980s the Muslim Brotherhood in Oran shocked public opinion when they went on a rampage against young women in Western dress, throwing acid in their faces (Peter Knauss, *The Persistence of Patriarchy: Class, Gender and Ideology in 20th Century Algeria* [1987]). Since then, fundamentalists have waged campaigns against coeducation and women's right to work. Last October they tried to break a teachers strike, demanding that all women teachers be forced into early retirement. More recently they have raided movie theaters, discotheques, bars and restaurants which stay open during the month of Ramadan.

A prime target of the fundamentalists has been single or divorced women who live or appear in public alone—i.e., without being under the direct guardianship of a father or husband. In April the FIS' sinister *shorta Islamiya* (Islamic police) devastated the apartments of four divorcees in Sidi-Amer, throwing their furniture out onto the sidewalk and burning down their homes. In recent weeks they have posted their goons at the en-

trances of university housing complexes in several cities, checking the papers of men seeking to enter and preventing young women from going out after 6 p.m. In Algeria today many women have taken to wearing the veil simply to avoid being accosted or even beaten by fundamentalist thugs if they venture out alone.

In response to the threatening advance of Islamic reaction, the response by liberals, leftists and feminists has been to rally around the banner of (capitalist) "democracy." At the May 10 march, the lead banner proclaimed "No to Fascism." This perspective harks back to the European popular fronts against fascism in the '30s which tied the working class to the liberal bourgeois parties on a minimum, reformist program. Such "broad" coalitions were impotent to halt the rise of fascism because they left untouched the material roots from which fascism grows. In Algeria, this popular-front perspective implies support to the FLN (or at least President Chadli), whose economic policies and brutal military are pushing poor youths into the arms of the fundamentalist fanatics.

Algeria is today a country torn by contradictions which could well be played out, as in Iran, by a turn to the deepest reaction. Should the fundamentalists come to power, it would effectively terminate even those elementary rights which exist in Algeria, such as the formal right for women to work, to bring court cases and to dress as they please.

Petty-Bourgeois Nationalism and Fundamentalist Reaction

The FLN initially launched a policy of investments in heavy, state-owned industry—the centerpiece of Algerian "socialism"—which, it was promised, would modernize the country and lead to economic independence from imperialism. Giant refineries, steel plants, cement and other "turnkey" factories were purchased from abroad. Chronically short of spare parts and skilled personnel, they generally ran at a fraction of capacity. But this policy did permit a class of state and army bureaucrats and their entourage to set up private companies which, through their connections, were able to make profits by buying intermediate products from state-owned industry at bargain prices. Many of these nascent capitalists were able to amass colossal fortunes; at the same time the working class was considerably strengthened, doubling in numbers since independence.

This deeply contradictory system—which favored the worst excesses of

bribery, mismanagement and pillage of state funds—provided a costly and highly inefficient economic motor, but it continued to run as long as it was generously fueled with earnings from oil and gas exports. In reality, behind the façade Algeria remained, like a classic colony, dependent on selling off its oil and gas resources—98 percent of exports—to the imperialists. At the close of the 1970s the world market price of oil went into free fall, dropping from some \$40 per barrel in 1979 to \$12 at the end of 1988. As state revenues fell off, the FLN went on a borrowing spree in order to keep the economy afloat. Today the imperialist rape of Algeria has become transparent as the yearly cost of debt service eats up almost three-quarters of total export earnings.

In the fall of 1988, these tensions exploded in a confrontation which sounded the death knell of popular support for the FLN. As a burgeoning strike wave against government austerity threatened to grow into a general strike, youth from the poor quarters of Algiers exploded in protest. As they attacked government buildings, symbols of FLN rule and monuments of opulence like the Ryad-el-Fateh shopping complex, the government called in the army. Some 500 youth in Algiers and other cities were shot down and many more were tortured with electric shock and other techniques borrowed from the heritage of French colonial repression (see *Le Bolchévique* No. 88, November 1988). Not least of many reasons why Algeria needs a socialist revolution is to bring to proletarian justice the authors of this atrocity.

Since the October 1988 massacre, the biggest strike wave in Algerian history has been lashing the public sector. But because of its traitorous leadership, the working class has been incapable of consolidating its disparate struggles into a united offensive and posing itself as a class alternative to the FLN regime. With the UGTA trade-union leadership an integral part of the FLN apparatus and the Stalinists of the PAGES slavishly tailing after Chadli, as they have after every post-independence government, disillusioned youth are turning to the FIS as the only "radical" opposition to the FLN government.

No to the Veil! For the Separation of State and Religion!

The Algerian masses' successful war of independence against French colonialism was held up at the time by Third World nationalists as proof that working-class revolution was no longer necessary to open the road to liberation from imperialism. Along with the overturn of capitalism in Castro's Cuba, so-called Algerian "socialism" was said to confirm the revolutionary potential of peasants and urban plebeians, what FLN ideologue Frantz Fanon termed "the wretched of the earth." But unlike the social revolution



Roberto Cristofoli
In act of racist exclusion, young Muslim women were expelled from school in Creil, France for wearing the hidjeb (Islamic headscarf).

which established a bureaucratically deformed workers state in Cuba, the FLN replaced colonial rule by French capital with the rule of a native bourgeoisie closely tied to imperialism through the world market.

Nowhere is the continuation of semi-colonial backwardness and oppression clearer than in the condition reserved for Algerian women. "Socialist" Algeria has been incapable of completing even the most elementary democratic tasks, reinforcing instead the Islamic religion and authoritarian family structure as essential props of bourgeois rule. In Algeria today women live basically as they did before and during French colonial rule: locked up at home, excluded from the workplace and political life, sold in marriage to strangers. Condemned at an early age to a life of repeated childbirth, without effective access to birth control, lacking proper medical attention, and often undernourished—this is the hellish existence of most Algerian women.

This reality is not simply a remnant of the past in the process of dying out; it summarizes the policy of the FLN in power. Laws like the Family Code of 1984 codify the basic provisions of *Sharia* law regarding women and the family, sanctioning polygamy, granting the husband the right to divorce at will, prohibiting marriage of Muslim women to non-Muslim men, and relegating women to the status of permanent minors, subject to the "authority" of their fathers and then of their husbands. According to the Family Code, a married woman by law owes "obedience" to her husband who can at any moment divorce her without cause. The wife can petition for divorce only in certain extremely limited cases (e.g., non-consummation of the marriage).

Barely 3.5 percent of women of working age have been able to take jobs outside the home; the female proportion of

the workforce—7.7 percent according to *El-Moudjahid* (19 February)—is one of the lowest in the world. On this question, obscurantist backwardness intersects the capitalist crisis and unemployment to reinforce the widespread attitude that it is practically indecent for a woman to even look for a job. The rare woman who attempts to live outside the confines of domestic slavery in the patriarchal family



Gamma
Algiers, October 1988—During desperate hunger riots, youths target symbols of opulence and corrupt FLN regime.

is confronted with a thousand barriers. Not only is it extremely difficult for a single woman to find an apartment, to say nothing of a job, but she may find herself arrested on a morals charge if she is seen alone in a cafe, takes a hotel room, or kisses a man in public. If she is divorced, it is marked on her police record that she has been a "repudiated woman."

This is quite in conformity with the fact, inscribed in the Constitution, that Islam is the state religion. Some Muslim "modernists," claiming vagueness in the Koran's prescriptions for enforced seclusion of women (*purdah*), say that Islam is compatible with equality of the sexes. But the Koran is abundantly clear on its attitude toward women: "Men are superior to women on account of the qualities which God hath fitted the one above the other and on account of the outlay they make from their substance for them. Virtuous women are obedient, careful during the husband's absence, because God hath of them been careful."

Nevertheless, the role of Islam as a bastion in the oppression of women is not centrally the result of Koranic pronouncements. It reflects the nature of the societies where Islam is dominant. Like Judaism and Christianity, Islamic teachings depict women as excessively sensual and morally inferior, needing the guidance of men to protect them against their own weakness. But Islam, largely because it is centered in semi-colonial countries where social backwardness is reinforced by imperialist oppression, has not had to adapt its repressive moral

code and secular power to the principle of formal political equality introduced by the bourgeois-democratic revolutions.

The Algerian National Struggle Fails to Liberate Women

French colonialism used the Islamic degradation of women to justify denying democratic rights to Muslims. In fact, colonial rule vastly reinforced the weight of religious obscurantism and backwardness. A dual legal and administrative system was set up in which the Muslim population was subject to *Sharia* law, administered by the religious authorities. A Muslim woman could in theory marry before the local mayor and thus receive the protection of French law (right to divorce, prohibition of polygamy, etc.), but to do so she had to renounce her status as a Muslim, which was inevitably viewed by her family and community as apostasy. As the Algerian population was driven from its land and relegated to a precarious existence on the margins of the colonial economy, they reacted with increased Islamic orthodoxy, including portraying the seclusion of women as protection of traditional values against French decadence.

During the struggle for national liberation, the French made some largely cynical efforts to draw women out of their isolation into support for French colonialism, including granting women's suffrage, extending some educational

opportunities for women, and organizing public unveilings. But when Algeria finally achieved independence, the wearing of the veil was *more* widespread, particularly in the cities, than before the French arrived almost a century and a half earlier. Although thousands of women fought in the FLN forces, their integration was a result of military exigencies and not commitment to emancipation. An exceedingly high proportion of these courageous women died at the hands of the colonialists, but once independence was achieved, the promise of equality born of the struggle quickly became nothing more than a memory.

In "Women and the Permanent Revolution" (*WV* No. 17, March 1973), we noted that Frantz Fanon's *L'An V de la Révolution Algérienne* was "a testament to the courage and fortitude of the Algerian revolutionary woman—showing how involvement in the FLN revolutionized her social standing," yet "Fanon finds her strength not in the liberating experience of equality imposed by commando life, but in patriarchal Moslem tradition."

This was not due centrally to the undoubted "patriarchal attitudes" of the FLN leadership, as the feminists would have it, but to the class forces which dominated the struggle for independence. The petty-bourgeois FLN made agreements with the *ulema* (Muslim clergy) already in the 1950s, and did all it could to prevent the struggle against French colonialism from leading to the overturn of capitalism through socialist revolution. The FLN turned the considerable Algerian proletariat concentrated in French

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Simon and Schuster

Pro-FLN demonstration in Algiers, 11 December 1960. Algerian war won independence from colonial rule but did not end capitalist exploitation or liberate women.

East Europe...

(continued from page 1)

William McPherson was quoted as saying, "It was like the end of civilization." This was echoed by the *Financial Times* (18 June), which complained that in ransacking opposition parties' offices, "The miners destroyed all their computers, phones and fax machines." *Le Monde* (17 June) wrote an analytical article on "Workers Militias and 'Fascist-Communism'."

Aside from a handful of articles, the Western media barely reported the rightist rampage of the 13th. The *Times* editorialized that the National Salvation Front responded to "peaceful demonstrators" with "Tiananmen-like ferocity," although the death toll was six. For Iliescu to call the University Square protesters "fascist rebels," they wrote, is "sheer effrontery." Yet even the "sophisticated" anti-Communists of *Le Monde* observed that "The 'golans' (hooligans) who occupied University Square" were "among the most violent and the most determined" of the regime's opponents, and reported that crowds applauded the miners. The *Washington Post* (20 June) noted the "surprising fact" that "few Romanians" opposed the government's decision to end the "pro-democracy sit-in."

As for the "effrontery" of calling the protesters fascists, an article by Paul Hockenos in the social-democratic *In These Times* (6 June) is compelled to note that "The democracy movement has several troubling features," among them "the new emphasis on nationalist-religious values" and a "hate psychology" that has led to violent attacks against Romania's Hungarian minority. Hockenos, who is no friend of the Salvation Front regime, reports that "roughly half the students in Bucharest express sympathy with the neo-fascist organization *Vatra Romeneasca*" which espouses "a crude xenophobic nationalism aimed at the ethnic Hungarians." "Perhaps most alarming is the strength of the ultraright in the student movement's top leadership," he continues. "Student League President Marion Munteanu and newspaper editor Sorin Dragan...embrace unabashed nationalist views," Dragan being "a monarchist and active *Vatra Romeneasca* member."

East Europe: The Old Crap Returns

For the moment, the Romanian workers' action has checked the rightist thrust. But all across East Europe, such reactionary scum are surfacing. In East Berlin's Alexanderplatz, skinheads and neo-Nazis giving the stiff-armed salute publicly celebrated Hitler's birthday on April 21. In early May a mob of 400 attacked Mozambican workers in the Lichtenberg quarter of East Berlin, shouting "Foreigners out, Niggers out." In Hungary, the once-Jewish Hungarian MTK soccer team is greeted with screams of "No goals for the Jews."



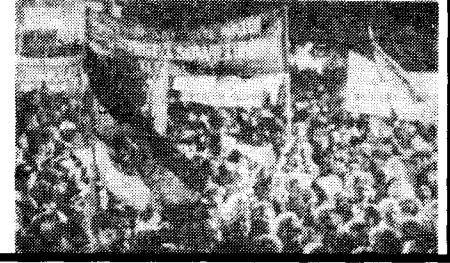
ПРАВДА
5 January 1990



БЕРЛИН, 4 (Сп. корр. «Правда»). Сегодня в центре Берлина собралась толпа молодежи, чтобы отметить годовщину освобождения Берлина от фашистского ига. Участники демонстрации держали в руках плакаты и транспаранты. Один из них гласил: «Фашисты - вон!»

КРАСНАЯ ЗВЕЗДА
5 January 1990

Митинг в Трептов-парке



Mass demonstration against fascist provocations at Soviet war memorial in Treptow Park, East Berlin last January was featured in *Pravda* and Soviet Army newspaper *Red Star*, which showed banner of *Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands* calling for defense of the Soviet Union.

Dirty Jews. To the gas chambers." In Yugoslavia, recent elections in Croatia were won by the right-wing nationalist Croatian Democratic Union, funded in part by contributions from émigré Usta-shi fascists, who ruled Croatia during World War II as bloodthirsty puppets of Nazi Germany.

As capitalist ideologues hail the "death of Communism" in East Europe, the arrival of pro-capitalist "democracy" there has raised all the old nationalist, anti-Semitic, anti-Communist murder scum which dominated the region before the victory of the Red Army in 1945. For over 40 years Western imperialism, its social-democratic agents and the Vatican have dreamed and plotted the overthrow of "godless, totalitarian Communism" in East Europe and the return to a capitalist, "Christian" order. With the collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracies from East Germany to Yugoslavia and the new regimes' rush to re-establish "free market" economies, they're starting to get what they want—and it's pretty ugly.

Thus just as Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika has fueled bloody nationalist strife in the Soviet Transcaucasia, we are seeing the beginnings of similar developments in East Europe. In Romania, where Ceausescu's downfall was triggered by protests over the oppression of the large Hungarian minority in Transylvania, today fascists whip up xenophobia and Romanian nationalism. In late March, six people were killed by pitchfork- and ax-wielding Romanian mobs who attacked Hungarians demonstrating for language rights. The nationalist strife in Transylvania naturally provoked a reaction in Hungary, contributing to the unexpected victory of the nationalist Democratic

Forum in April elections. One can easily envision war between "democratic" Hungary and "democratic" Romania.

Zionist leaders from around the world spent the early days of May in West Berlin debating the extent of the danger of the new wave of anti-Semitism and asking each other why the old nightmare is coming again. The answer is simple. The push to capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe has both intensified the nationalisms which have plagued the region since the last century, and allowed the filth that the Stalinist regimes failed to clean out to boil to the surface once more.

The Stalinist regimes in East Europe could put a lid on some of the reactionary filth that historically plagued the region but could not lay the material basis for eliminating it. Economic autarky, bureaucratic commandism, nationalism, the appeasement of imperialism, wholesale falsification of history, suppression of the independent political life of the working class—these have been hallmarks of the Stalinist Soviet and East European regimes. As the young Karl Marx wrote, two years before *The Communist Manifesto*: "A development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise [of communism], because without it want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive."

Anti-Communism, Anti-Semitism

In East Germany every week Jewish gravestones and buildings associated with Jewish activities are defaced with anti-Semitic filth, including the recent desecration of the grave of playwright Bertolt

Brecht with the words "Jews Out." Brecht wasn't Jewish, but he sure hated anti-Semites and fascists. As he wrote after World War II of the Hitlerite brown plague, "The womb is still fecund from which that crawled forth." In Poland, where only 4,400 remain of a prewar Jewish population of 3.5 million, the Jewish State Theater in Warsaw has been defaced with the slogan "Jews to the Ovens. Jews for Soap." And in the Soviet Union, where Gorbachev's perestroika has intensified all national antagonisms, the black-shirted fascists of *Pamyat* are openly calling for pogroms.

This filthy spawn of the "democratization" of the Soviet bloc has become so ugly and dangerous that even major capitalist media feel compelled to report on it. *Newsweek* (7 May) devoted a seven-page spread to the subject, noting: "The old specter returns: Anti-Semitism, the offspring of unbridled religion and nationalism, is working the fringes of the new politics in the Soviet Union and East Europe." The rise of clerical-nationalism is but ideological expression of the drive toward capitalist counterrevolution. Behind the foul-mouthed thugs plotting pogroms in East Berlin and Budapest beer halls are the ever-so-civilized bankers of Wall Street, the City of London and Frankfurt.

Anti-Semitism is fueled not only by backward-looking ideologies but also by economic insecurity. Even the CIA now projects the "transition to a market economy" in East Europe will result in millions of unemployed amid the wholesale dismantling of social security programs. Szymon Szurmiej, head of the Jewish State Theater in Poland, points out: "When the economic situation becomes difficult, those who play the political game seek an escape valve and the Jew is an escape valve."

East European anti-Semites have taken up the old Hitler refrain of a "Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy." The *Newsweek* article presents a semi-justification for this: "To the degree that Jews helped introduce Communist rule in Eastern Europe, anti-communists will resent them." In the early postwar years, Jewish Communists did play a significant role in the new East European regimes since they were passionately hostile to the old order of the eagle and cross in Poland, Arrow Cross in Hungary and Iron Guard in Romania.

However, in the early 1950s Stalin launched a savage anti-Semitic campaign in both Russia (the Kremlin "doctors plot") and East Europe. Prominent East European Jews (for example, Rudolf Slansky in Czechoslovakia, Ana Pauker in Romania, Gabor Peter in Hungary, Paul Merker in East Germany) were made the victims of show trials as agents of "Zionism and imperialism." The era



Body of a man killed when Romanian nationalists attacked Hungarian minority in Transylvania last March (above). Anti-Hungarian agitation is spearheaded by fascistic *Vatra Romeneasca*, descendants of Romanian Iron Guard in the 1930s (right).



Sam Marcy Meets Kim Il Sung

Together at last, Sam Marcy and Kim Il Sung. Since the early 1950s Marcy has heralded the Stalinist leader of North Korea—who has built up a “cult of personality” that would make J.V. Stalin blush—as the most militant and intransigent fighter in the “global class war.” Four decades later, Marcy and a delegation from his Workers World Party were invited to North Korea “to discuss the serious international situation” with the president of the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.

For the Kim regime, the seriousness of the international situation is indicated by the fact that while they were visiting with Marcy in Pyongyang, Soviet leader Gorbachev was meeting with South Korean strongman Roh Tae Woo in San Francisco. Last year, North Korea hosted a delegation from the CPUSA headed by Gus Hall. These visits are really a sign of North Korea’s growing isolation. More than ever, Kim father and son will have to make a virtue out of *juche* (self-reliance).

Since their inception as a political tendency during the Korean War, the Marcyites have embraced the Stalinist bureaucracies, claiming that they were waging an inexorable and epochal battle against imperialism. Yet the regimes which sit on top of the deformed/degenerated workers states aren’t committed to “global class war” but rather to *global class collaboration*. Today this treacherous policy of appeasement and accommodation to world imperialism is being brought home with a vengeance in the demise of Stalinist rule in East Europe.



How shrubbery was turned into Sam Marcy (third from left).

Workers World

Now the Marcyites, who split from Trotskyism in cheering the crushing of the 1956 workers’ uprising in Hungary, mourn the passing of Romania’s Nicolae Ceausescu. When a mass revolt toppled Ceausescu’s one-family Stalinist dictatorship last December, Marcy decried it as a “fascist-like coup d’etat by Romanian bourgeois reactionaries.” (To be fair, Marcy did admit that Ceausescu had committed some “subjective errors,” like starving and freezing the Romanian working people in order to pay off the imperialist bankers.)

With Ceausescu gone, Marcy’s party began to cast around in search of some Stalinist holdout. The 25 January issue of *Workers World* heralded the “Communist Party leadership of Albania” for standing “firm in its rejection of capitalist ‘solutions’ to the building of socialism.” Ditto for Deng Xiao-ping’s regime in Beijing. In the same issue an article by Marcy praises the Chinese Stalinists’ bloody suppression of Tiananmen Square protests last spring and gives kudos to Prime Minister Li Peng for his declaration that “we

shall unswervingly follow the socialist road.”

Of course Marcy neglects to mention that it is in China where the program of “building socialism with capitalist methods” has gone the furthest, producing the greatest class inequalities. It was this which led to the mobilization of hundreds of thousands of workers in defense of the student protesters in Tiananmen Square last spring.

Ironically, the stars in the Marcyites’ constellation of “global class warriors” have also numbered among Washington’s most-favored Stalinist despots. For almost two decades the U.S. lauded Ceausescu for his “independence” from Moscow. George Bush called him “one of Europe’s good communists.” In his later years, Ceausescu was displaced by Deng Xiao-ping, who became one of the prime players in U.S. imperialism’s anti-Soviet military alliances.

This doesn’t bother the Marcyites. But then on the home front they take a back seat to no one when it comes to class collaboration, pushing Jesse Jackson and Teddy Kennedy as coalition partners in the cause of “anti-imperialism.” Marcy runs a popular-front zoo for the Democrats, claiming to represent everyone from feminists to the disabled. But here he is with Kim Il Sung who has any aged, crippled or otherwise “defective” person shipped out of Pyongyang to peasant villages. Of course, if the Marcyites ever get a chance to play in the big leagues with the Democratic Party, you can bet this picture will be one of the first things through the shredder.

of “liberal” Stalinism which opened up in 1956 led to the rise of “national Communists,” especially in Poland, at the expense of Jewish members of the bureaucracy. By the 1970s few Jews held positions of power in Gierek’s Poland, Husak’s Czechoslovakia or Kadar’s Hungary. But as the new anti-Communist regimes push to “purify” their countries for “democratic” capitalist exploitation, Jews and reds have become easy scapegoats.

This amalgam of anti-Communism and anti-Semitism is not a new device. Many Jews suffering the vicious pogroms of the tsarist Black Hundreds found in Bolshevik internationalism a way to fight both anti-Semitism and the capitalist system which perpetuated it. Some of the outstanding Bolshevik leaders—Trotsky, Sverdlov, Kamenev, Zinoviev, just to name a few—who played a leading role in the October 1917 Russian Revolution and the fight to forge the Leninist Third International were Jewish. During the 1920s-30s the deeply oppressed Jews of East Europe flocked into the Communist

and other left-wing parties. As the brilliant Jewish Marxist Abram Leon, who was killed in Auschwitz, wrote in 1938 in his book *The Jewish Question*:

“The ruling classes persecute with special sadism the Jewish intellectuals and workers, who have supplied a host of fighters to the revolutionary movement. To isolate the Jews completely from the sources of culture and science has become a vital necessity for the decaying system which persecutes them. The ridiculous legend of ‘Jewish-Marxism’ is nothing but a caricature of the bonds that actually exist between socialism and the Jewish masses.”

Leon wrote this at a time when the East European Jewish communities were strongholds of the left, and Jews in West Europe and the United States were generally well left of center politically. The rise of Zionist Israel combined with decades of Stalinist oppression has shifted to the right the political center of gravity of the Jewish community, East and West. But for the fascists, clerical-nationalists and other reactionary scum running around East Europe, the equation of Jew and red is still very much alive. Thus capitalist counterrevolution will bring anti-Semitic pogroms as well as impoverishment of the working class.

McCarthyism Comes to East Europe

East Europe today is experiencing a rip-roaring anti-Communist witchhunt: not only “are you now or have you ever been...” but also what about your brother, sister, mother, father...and your father’s father. The former mayor of East Berlin cannot even get a job because of his Communist past. In Czechoslovakia, land of the “velvet revolution,” Prague prosecutor Tomas Sokol called for outlawing the Communist Party, which he equates with fascism, while the politically influential Catholic priest Vaclav Mali called Communists “a mafia in the background.” They are worried that the CP in Czechoslovakia retains substantial working-class support and won 13 percent of the vote in June 9 elections.

From Poland to Slovakia to Croatia, the resurgent Catholic church under Pope John Paul Wojtyla of Cracow is seeking to establish a neo-medieval “Christian order” in Europe. The “democratic” counterrevolution in East Europe has to a large extent been spearheaded by former dissident Stalinist intellectuals turned Western-style social democrats or bourgeois liberals. But now these people are coming under attack from clerical-nationalist forces to their right. Thus Jan Sabata, who was expelled from the Czechoslovak CP after Soviet tanks put an end to the 1968 Prague Spring, was recently the target of howling right-wing mobs in the Moravian capital of Brno. “Primitive, nearly fascist sentiments exist throughout our republic,” Sabata exclaimed.

Redbaiting of former Communists dominated the recent elections in Hungary. The Free Democrats are staunchly pro-Western intellectuals clamoring for a “free market” economy, foreign capital investment and membership in the European Common Market. But a number of leading Free Democrats are former leftists of Jewish descent. Against them the

Democratic Forum resorted to virulent nationalist-fascist appeals. In January, Forum supporter and well-known writer Istvan Czurka proclaimed on radio, “Hungarians, awake!” as he lashed out at the “dwarfish minority” he claimed was trying to control the country. “Hungarians, awake!” was the main slogan of the fascist Arrow Cross in the 1920s-30s. Many Free Democratic election posters were smeared with the Star of David and the Arrow Cross.

Redbaiting was also prominent in elections in Romania, where the nightmarish reign of Nicolae Ceausescu was overthrown by a popular revolt last December that was supported by the military high command. The tyrant, a cross between Josef Stalin and Count Dracula, was quickly executed by his generals. In his place the National Salvation Front was established, led by former Stalinist apparatchiks like Ion Iliescu who had run afoul of the megalomaniac Ceausescu and his family. But while Iliescu & Co. declared their attachment to Western-style social democracy, the right-wing National Christian Democratic

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Witt/Sipa

Anti-Semitic desecration of tomb of German Communist playwright and poet Bertolt Brecht.

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East Europe...

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Peasants Party (a haven for the prewar fascists of the Iron Guard) and National Liberal Party attacked Front leaders as crypto-Communists.

As it turned out, the Salvation Front won a landslide victory, with the Liberals and Peasants combined polling less than 10 percent of the vote. And when the frustrated ultrarightists tried to set the stage for a coup with their rampage, while the army and police stood by passively, the workers responded enthusiastically to Iliescu's call for help. What accounts for this massive setback for the right in Romania, breaking the pattern in other East European countries?

The Front won wide popularity by quickly turning on the heat and lights, and increasing food supplies. This substantially raised living standards from the enforced misery of the Ceausescu regime, which drained Romania's wealth to pay off loans from Wall Street and Frankfurt bankers. The miners, far from being Ceausescu supporters, were the first to rebel, with a strike in the Jiu Valley in 1977 which was brutally re-

pressed. Iliescu doubled their wages and cut the workweek to four days. Writing on the Op-Ed page of the *New York Times* (19 June), Daniel Nelson of the Carnegie Endowment noted:

"Industrial workers, including miners, are one stratum in which Mr. Iliescu enjoys unswerving support. His Communist past doesn't bother most workers, but the fear of unemployment does—and the Front has gained workers' allegiance by guaranteeing a slow economic transition toward a market economy."

But Romania's ex-CP rulers now find themselves in a dilemma. The *London Guardian* (15 June) noted: "By unleashing violent workers onto the streets of the capital, Mr Iliescu has essentially tied his future to a policy which precludes any economic reform. No restructuring of the national economy can take place without closing unprofitable factories, but this is now out of the question." And with all the hauteur of capitalists talking disdainfully of "mob rule," the *Paris Libération* of the same date put it bluntly from a capitalist viewpoint: "By playing to 'the street' too often, the Romanian regime is exposing itself to a severe turnabout when the social crisis erupts which many experts consider inevitable."

The workers and collective farmers of

Romania are well aware of the violent oppression wreaked by the fascist Iron Guard regime of the 1930s which the anti-Communists in University Square look to with fondness. But the toilers of East Europe cannot maintain their economic security by supporting politicians who promise Western-style social democracy—the soft-core version of counter-revolution. Whether fast or slow, the introduction of market-oriented reforms, leading toward the restoration of capitalism, will be at the workers' expense. What's desperately needed are genuinely communist parties committed to *defending socialized property* based on the perspective of international proletarian revolution, including in the imperialist centers of West Europe, North America and Japan.

For Communist Internationalism!

In East Germany, when the fascists first struck against the Soviet war memorial in East Berlin, there was also a powerful response by the working class. After our comrades of the Troztkistische Liga Deutschlands (now the Spartakist Workers Party) called to stop the Nazis with workers united-front action on January 3, the then-ruling Stalinist SED took up the call and 250,000 came out to Treptow Park to show their solidarity with the Red Army which crushed the Hitler regime. This was shown (including a picture prominently featuring the Soviet-defensist banner of the TLD) on the front page of the Soviet Army paper *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star).

But in the aftermath, as the bourgeoisie denounced the Treptow mobilization the Stalinist "reformers" recoiled from the wrath of the social democrats and their capitalist masters. And in that mobilization they all saw the spectre of political revolution and civil war. The same may be happening now in Romania, as Prime Minister Petr Roman apologizes for the "excesses" of the miners.

The drive toward capitalist restoration in East Europe is unleashing the most violent, primitive nationalist passions in order to prevent united working-class struggle. Make no mistake—capitalism

will not be restored in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union by a charming bunch of playwrights voted in peacefully on sunny Sunday afternoons. Christian Rakovsky, co-leader of the International Left Opposition with Trotsky, pointed to the danger in 1929 that the thoroughgoing Stalinization of the Soviet Communist Party would allow the class enemy to break "into our Soviet fortress under the false, hypocritical and base flag of bourgeois democracy, to lay the road thereby for unrestrained fascism."

What is needed to fight capitalist counterrevolution and the all-sided reaction it engenders is above all to forge genuinely communist (Leninist-Trotskyist) parties. The Bolshevik Party was built and triumphed in implacable struggle against all forms of nationalism. The founder of the Red Army, Leon Trotsky, and the first chairman of the All-Russian Supreme Soviet, Yakov Sverdlov, were Jews. The founder of the Cheka (political police), Felix Dzerzhinsky, was a Pole, and his chief lieutenants, Martin Latsis and Yakov Peters, were Latvians. Stalin was a Georgian and Lenin was Russian. The first head of the Bolshevik government in the Ukraine, Rakovsky, was a Bulgarian by birth who led the Romanian socialists in the decade before WW I.

Capitalist restoration is a bloody business, and the shock troops of counterrevolution have begun openly mobilizing. Should the proletariat, misled and atomized by the Stalinists for decades, fail to assert its class power to oppose and defeat counterrevolution, the resulting governments will not be stable parliamentary democracies but fascist dictatorships forged through crushing the deformed workers states and the workers organizations. These regimes will very likely be in direct continuity with those that slaughtered 6 million Jews and 20 million Soviet citizens. And fierce competition for the spoils of East Europe could be a trip wire for a third imperialist world war. The counterrevolutionary danger looming in East Europe and the Soviet Union must be fought and crushed. It is the task of the Trotskyists to lead the workers and peasants in the struggle to sweep away all the old crap forever. ■



Abram Leon (above), murdered by the Nazis in Auschwitz. Christian Rakovsky, head of Bolshevik government in the Ukraine, killed in Stalin's purges.

Algeria...

(continued from page 5)

heavy industry, where it could have constituted a living link with revolutionary class struggle in the imperialist heartland, into a simple supplier of funds. The first campaign undertaken by the FLN among Algerian workers was a campaign of intimidation against those who smoked or drank alcohol; recalcitrants had part of their nose cut off!

Meanwhile, the Stalinist leaders pre-

vented the French working class from playing a revolutionary role. After years of being an ardent supporter of the "French Union" (i.e., empire), including as part of the postwar government, and voting for the military budget as the French army was massacring Algerians and Vietnamese, the French Communist Party (PCF) only declared itself in favor of Algerian "independence" after 1958 when de Gaulle began seeking a neo-colonial solution to a costly and losing war. During the entire struggle of the Algerian people, amid revelations of

torture and while tensions from the war brought the ruling class to the verge of civil war (as in the April 1961 generals' revolt in Algiers), the PCF reformists never once called a significant political strike against the dirty colonial war.

When French colonialism recognized Algerian independence in 1962, the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FLN had already affirmed, through the Evian Accords, their commitment to defend private property and respect key interests of French imperialism in Algeria. In a sense, de Gaulle had drawn the lessons of Cuba where the unrelenting pressure of U.S. imperialism had forced Castro's petty-bourgeois guerrillaists, in order to preserve their very existence at the head of the state, to expropriate the bourgeoisie. The Algerian Revolution achieved independence from French colonialism, at enormous human cost, but it did not free the urban and peasant masses from poverty and exploitation, nor from the social oppression which is part of the fabric of capitalist rule.

Women's Liberation Through Proletarian Revolution!

Since the upsurge of October 1988 a score of women's groups have arisen in Algeria, largely in reaction to the spectacular rise of violent fundamentalism. They have centered their activity on organizing opposition to the family code and mobilizing protests against fundamentalist atrocities. Demonstrations were held last November when a woman's house was burned down in Annaba because she was a member of a women's group; and last July in Ouargla where a woman provoked the wrath of the fundamentalists because she lived alone with her children and led a "free" life, they burned down her house, killing her son.

But even the feminists are not unanimous in calling for abrogation of the family code—in recent meetings of North African women in Paris, some called for "reforming" it.

What's needed to turn around the reactionary offensive is to mobilize the social power of the working class on the side of the victims of the fundamentalists' attacks. The rise of Islamic reaction is a direct threat to the unions, as shown by the FIS' record of strike-breaking. But instead of seeking to prepare a working-class counteroffensive, various self-proclaimed revolutionary groups in Algeria call instead for a mythical "democratization" of society carried out without socialist revolution. Thus the PST (Parti Socialiste des Travailleurs), linked to Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, and the OST (Organisation Socialiste des Travailleurs), linked to Pierre Lambert's tendency in France, both center their political programs on the call for a constituent assembly which is conceived, not as a product of a revolutionary upsurge leading to a socialist revolution, but of "democratic" elections under capitalism.

Thus the PST criticizes the Chadli regime for holding local elections, saying it "would have been more democratic" to call an election for a national constituent assembly "on the basis of proportional representation" (*Rouge*, 22 March). And in an interview with the Mandelite USec's *International Viewpoint* (9 April), a PST spokesman calls for "a democratic transitional programme that will lead, via the establishment of a broad workers and popular front, to the setting up of a workers government" and for an electoral "alliance of all those forces that base themselves on the struggle of the popular masses." This is the classic formula of

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Alps/Santa Monica Outlook



WV Photo

Scores are injured as L.A. cops club striking janitors outside Century City, June 15. Right: unionists gather in Beverly Hills park before march.

Bloody Cop Attack on Latino Labor Rally

L.A. Janitors Strike Wins Union

LOS ANGELES, June 26—Striking janitors have won recognition of their union by the huge ISS cleaning contractor. As part of a nationwide “Justice for Janitors” organizing drive, Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 399 struck the glitzy Century City office complex in West L.A. on May 31. After three weeks on the picket line and a brutal assault by the LAPD against a union march, a settlement was announced yesterday which brings the heavily Latino workers into the SEIU master L.A. contract with a 15 percent wage increase, and medical benefits and vacation pay to start next spring.

At today’s press conference by the SEIU, strikers were proud of their victory, but told *Workers Vanguard* that even with the wage increase they will only earn a miserable \$5.20 per hour. Unemployed Latino workers who had traveled from East L.A. to back the strike, including some who were injured in the racist cop attack, were bitter that they were still jobless. The struggle must continue for a big wage increase for all, and a shorter workweek, to create jobs for the jobless.

On June 15, 500 strikers and supporters marched from Beverly Hills’ Roxbury Park. As the marchers—overwhelmingly Latino and one-third women, including

many with young children—moved into the major intersection of Century Park East and Olympic Boulevard it was blocked by a solid wall of cops. An LAPD commander suddenly shouted over a bullhorn: “Disperse within 30 seconds!” James Wood, L.A. AFL-CIO council member, tried to negotiate with the cops. Campaign organizers told strikers to sit down in the intersection, expecting to be quietly arrested. Others linked arms, facing the police.

Without warning, the cops went berserk, charging the line of strikers and wading into the crowded intersection. Unionists and their families were clubbed senseless, even as they sat on the ground. As the marchers tried to back off, the cops raced down Olympic, cutting off their retreat.

More than 60 marchers were injured, 16 severely, including some with broken legs and fractured skulls, and a woman five months pregnant who may miscarry due to severe hemorrhaging. Among the injured was Salvadoran poet María Guardado, already disabled by torture. Forty workers were arrested on trumped-up charges. That evening, the SEIU strike HQ looked like a military field hospital, as the strikers returned from hospitals and jails. Frustrated workers at the hall told a *Workers Vanguard* supporter that

while the union bureaucrats told them to lie down if the LAPD attacked, the cops just continued to beat people, including elderly women. Strikers told of experiencing civil war and seeing death in El Salvador—they are not used to this kind of treatment without fighting back.

The LAPD is still burning over the union mobilization on June 1, when hundreds of strikers swept past cops into Century City. These badge-toting strikebreakers and their capitalist masters are dead-set on smashing the organizing drives by heavily Latino workers in office buildings, hotels and garment sweatshops. The capitalists here want to turn back the clock to the 1920s, when union organizers were run out of town or thrown in jail as “criminal syndicalists.” Today they want to put foreign-born workers “in their place.” But the result could be explosive, as many of these strikers have had firsthand experience with militant class struggle against rightist regimes in Central America.

Until their hand was stayed by a recent court ruling, the INS immigration cops were threatening to deport over 100 foreign-born SEIU Local 535 nurses, among 900 who are striking against the Kaiser Permanente hospital on Sunset Boulevard. Some local unions have been forced to take up defense of undocu-

mented workers, but the AFL-CIO tops’ poisonous protectionist campaign against Japanese, Korean and Mexican workers feeds into the bosses’ attempts to divide the working class in order to more brutally exploit us. We say: *labor must fight for full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families!*

In the face of the racist cop attack on the June 15 march, the local AFL-CIO tops can only whine that “The LAPD needs to change.” But the armed fist of the capitalist state will never be reformed. The LAPD is a paramilitary force which acts like an occupying army in the black ghetto and the sprawling barrios because they have to in order to “keep control” over a huge proletarian population. The bureaucrats’ appeals to former top cop and L.A. mayor Tom Bradley to “investigate” the cop riot are designed to politically disarm workers, by tying them to the capitalist Democratic Party.

The June 15 cop riot was aimed at all L.A. labor. The SEIU is going ahead with a noon demonstration on June 28, again at Century City, to protest the cop attack. But this time it must be a show of power by L.A. labor: let the LAPD try and stand in the way of massed longshoremen, Teamsters, hospital and hotel workers! ■

a popular front with sectors of the bourgeoisie. Lest anyone be fooled by the reference to a “workers government,” it should be recalled that the USec at its founding in 1963 justified support to the FLN regime under Ben Bella by labeling it a “workers and peasants government.”

The rise of reactionary fundamentalism in Algeria has provoked fears of its spread to other North African countries. Neighboring Tunisia has long been held up as the model of “modernizing” nationalism, particularly since women enjoy certain—limited—rights (such as the prohibition of polygamy and of the husband’s right to divorce by simple repudiation) which are unique in the Arab world. Yet today the fundamentalists of the Movement of the Islamic Tendency (MTI) are the principal opposition to the regime. The Tunisian working class, because of its extensive trade-union organization, has had a capacity for organized class struggle which is unique in Africa. But when the plebeian masses revolted in January 1984, the reformist misleaders offered no working-class alternative. As the regime subsequently moved to check the power of the unions, the field was left open for the fundamentalists to attract the masses of disaffected youth.

Meanwhile, in France the growing strength of fundamentalism in the North African community came to a head last year in a battle over the wearing of the Islamic *hidjeb* (headscarf) by girls in secondary schools. Cynically talking of secularism, racist forces (as well as government bureaucrats whose pseudo-“socialism” smacks of bourgeois freemasonry) tried to expel students whose Muslim parents had them wear the traditional headscarves. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France condemned this as “nothing but an act of racial discrimination” (“Muslim Girls Banned From School in Anti-Immigrant Hysteria,” *Women and Revolution* No. 37, Spring 1990). At the same time, the International Communist League has fought uncompromisingly against reactionary Islamic forces which enforce wearing of the veil, such as in Khomeini’s Iran and in Afghanistan, where we proclaimed “Hail Red Army!” in 1980 when Soviet forces intervened to beat back the CIA-financed, woman-hating *mujahedin*.

As Algeria has amply demonstrated, in the epoch of imperialist decline there is no margin for independent development of the backward capitalist countries. The

weak “national bourgeoisie,” intimately tied to imperialism and threatened by its “own” proletariat, cannot even take up the democratic tasks formerly associated with bourgeois revolutions, to say nothing of building “socialism.” As Trotsky’s theory of permanent revolution affirmed, these tasks can only be accomplished by the working class in power, drawing after it all the oppressed sectors of society. And that requires the leadership of a proletarian party modeled on Lenin’s Bolsheviks.

The Russian Revolution of October 1917 not only permitted the economic development of the Soviet Union into a world industrial power but, despite the reversals which accompanied the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy, raised the social status of women above that of the advanced capitalist countries. In Soviet Central Asia the shroud of centuries of Islamic obscurantism was cast off by women who gained access to higher education, positions as doctors and other professionals, and posts of responsibility in industry and the state administration. The only veils which can be seen today in Soviet Central Asia are in the photographs in museum exhibitions. And the recent resurgence of reactionary Islamic

forces there is the direct result of the turn toward pro-capitalist market reforms by the unraveling Stalinist bureaucracy.

The October Revolution underlined the need for a revolutionary party of the working class, serving as a tribune of all the oppressed. Such a party will mobilize the revolutionary energy and determination of women in a way which was only foreshadowed in the struggle of the Algerian masses against French colonialism. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

Rap...

(continued from page 12)

done in other states or in a back alley. Judge Gonzalez's "obscenity" ruling set the stage for a nationwide offensive. First, Miami black record store owner Charles Freeman was arrested June 8 for refusing to take the record off the shelves of his store. Then came the arrests of the band members. Now Freeman, the band members, and anyone buying the record in southern Florida can be slapped with a year in prison and a \$1,000 fine!

After the Florida bust, 2 Live Crew was "welcomed" to Gwinnett County, Georgia by the local police chief who told them he was "looking forward to a nice, clean PG version of the concert." (Fearful they would also be thrown behind bars in Georgia, 2 Live Crew canceled their first gig at a teen club.) The vice squad videotaped the concert while undercover cops *in suits* tried to mingle nonchalantly with the teenagers inside. Bold rap fans with black tape over their mouths trailed cops around the parking lot outside, carrying signs reading, "Idiots rule." Here 2 Live Crew outwitted the censors, bleeping themselves and letting the entire audience uproariously chant the "dirty" words.

Screw the Censors

All this hullabaloo has naturally made the album a collector's item, and the band's popularity has soared. As *Nasty as They Wanna Be* is outselling its sanitized-for-radio twin *As Clean as They Wanna Be* by ten to one. 2 Live Crew will soon release a new album, *Banned in the USA*, which they promise will be "just as raunchy." Yet it could be only a matter of time before record sellers, companies and club owners completely knuckle under to government censorship. Already authorities in San Antonio and Atlanta suburbs are warning record sellers that they'd better stop selling the album or face arrest under those states' obscenity laws. In Missouri, the "show me" state, minors are required to present proof of age before buying "adult" albums.

Anti-porn crusaders Jack Thompson and Robert DeMoss, of the fundamentalist group Focus on the Family, started the furor against 2 Live Crew by sending letters to public prosecutors and sheriffs across Florida, appealing for action to ban the album. Focus on the Family is intimately linked to the notorious Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC). PMRC is a cabal of frustrated Washington Congressmen's wives who spend their afternoons listening to "explicit" records. They initiated hearings on rock 'n roll resulting in the ratings system and warning labels designed to "protect the innocent" from "dangerous" music.

No "parental advisory" warning label is going to stop teenagers from listening to the music they want to or discovering that sex is a big part of life. But state interference and infringement on the rights of young people to get their hands on whatever turns them on is part of the



Ernest Panicioli

Public Enemy: radical posture combined with Farrakhanite rhetoric and anti-Semitic bigotry.

drive to roll back all democratic rights and reinforce every backward, sexist, racist, jingoistic prejudice to instill obedience to a racist, right-wing government. Frank Zappa aptly spoofed these bigots by designing his own "warning/guarantee" label for his records which reads in part:

"In some socially retarded areas, religious fanatics and ultra-conservative political organizations violate your First Amendment Rights by attempting to censor rock & roll albums....

"The language and concepts contained herein are GUARANTEED NOT TO CAUSE ETERNAL TORMENT IN THE PLACE WHERE THE GUY WITH THE HORNS AND POINTED STICK CONDUCTS HIS BUSINESS.

"This guarantee is as real as the threats of the video fundamentalists who use attacks on rock music in their attempt to transform America into a nation of check-mailing nincompoops (in the name of Jesus Christ). If there is a hell, its fires wait for them, not us."

With black youth unemployment soaring over 50 percent in rotting inner cities, the government wants to crush any form of social, political, sexual or artistic expression it deems "deviant" or fears could ignite the social tinderbox. It is no mere coincidence that the U.S. marches in lockstep with apartheid South Africa which has the most stringent "anti-pornography" laws on the planet. *Young Spartacus* was banned as "political pornography" by South Africa's rulers in 1985 for calling on black workers to bury apartheid.

Accompanying police repression of the black population in South Africa and the United States is systematic government regimentation in all spheres of life, not least sexuality, because the "homogenized" white family is a key prop of the racist status quo. Odds are that if 2 Live Crew hadn't "crossed over" to white audiences the state would have left them alone. As Luther "Luke Skywalker" Campbell shouted to his fans in Georgia, "See what all these people are talking about? 2 Live Crew is all about this: blacks and whites being together."

Rock 'n Race

Rock 'n roll has always been rooted in black music, and its frankly sexual nature

and wide appeal to youth (of all colors) have always drawn the wrath of the segregationists. And it always had a lot to do with sex. Jazz was first a verb for screwing and the music emerged from New Orleans' black Storyville red light district, in clubs like the Funky Butt Hall. While white singers crooned about moonlight in June, black artists like Bessie Smith were singing the blues about sex and pain and life:

"I'm a young woman
and ain't done running 'round....
See that long lonesome road
Lord you know it's gotta end
I'm a good woman
and I can get plenty men."
—"Young Woman's Blues"
(1926)

And Helen Humes, longtime lead singer with Count Basie, sang in "Airplane Man":

"First he turns me over, then he starts
the loop-the-loop
It takes a long, long time till his
wings begin to droop
Now he rides me slow, he flies me fast
And I'm hopin' and prayin' he don't
run out of gas."

In the '40s, when Billie Holiday sang "The Yanks Are Not Coming," a Communist antiwar song, the FBI intervened and demanded she remove it from her nightclub acts.

No one screamed "obscenity" until large numbers of whites began to take notice of black music in the '50s. When Elvis shook his hips and copied black songs and dance, white kids loved it and the bigots went wild. All this was happening just as the civil rights movement began to take off. White Southern Baptists, who saw rock as representing "race-mixing" and godless Communism, led mass rock 'n roll record-burnings. For daring to break the "color bar" by playing black music on his show, famous disc jockey Alan Freed was scapegoated and destroyed in the "payola" scandal of 1960. Today, record companies and radio stations perpetuate this cultural segregation by relegating black artists to the "black" (a/k/a "urban contemporary") charts where there's less playing time and a lot less money.

Rap, with its origins in black street culture, was initially and totally ignored by the music industry as a black fad with little moneymaking potential. Not so long ago, the MTV music video channel had a racist policy of excluding black performers, to the point of refusing to air Michael Jackson's megahit "Billie Jean" in order not to "alienate" its target white male teenage audience. But rap, uniquely suited to venting frustration, quickly caught on by word of mouth; now *Yo! MTV Raps* is one of the channel's highest-rated shows. One reason rap is so popular is that, besides being danceable, many rap groups talk about life in racist America, in which the extreme oppression faced by black youth is increasing daily.

N.W.A. (a black Los Angeles rap group whose acronym stands for the self-deprecating name "Niggers With Attitude") popularized "Fuck tha Police," a "revenge fantasy" about the frustration and humiliation felt by black teenagers harassed by cops who "think they have

the authority to kill a minority." This clearly struck a chord; it was chanted by hundreds of black youth who were viciously attacked by police and National Guardsmen in Virginia Beach last summer. N.W.A. was targeted by the FBI, which sent an intimidating letter to their record company, and cops have tried to close down N.W.A.'s concerts in Detroit (where they rushed the stage and detained the band), Washington, D.C., Chattanooga, Milwaukee and Cincinnati.

"Fight the Power"

In a society which has "dissed" black youth to the max, and lacking any leadership to point the way toward overthrowing the real enemy—racist capitalism—the mounting despair and anger is directed against other oppressed groups. The poisonous effects are heard on many recordings where rappers strut their stuff in vile rape fantasies or reaching for a rhyme just to take a swipe at gays. The very few female rap artists often refer bitterly in their songs to the macho glorification of violence against women and verbal abuse that they've been subjected to.

Public Enemy was one of the first rap groups to do overtly political songs. Their hit "Party for the Right to Fight" is about the Black Panther Party, while "Fight the Power" was the theme song for Spike Lee's *Do The Right Thing* last summer. With their own "Security of the First World" standing guard on stage with fake Uzis, they see themselves as role models for black kids seeking a way out of the ghetto. It's a defiant posture and catchy rhetoric, but it's sure not the way out. There's only room for so many black rap stars to capture the market, and the false heroes they promote, like Farrakhan, are *enemies* of black liberation.



Robin Carson

Blues great Billie Holiday was target of FBI harassment.

The disgusting anti-Semitic bigotry displayed by Public Enemy's "Minister of Information" Richard "Professor Griff" Griffin, who declared Jews the cause of "the majority of the wickedness," comes directly from their adulation of Louis Farrakhan. This kind of race-baiting feeds into pogroms—lynch mobs—such as the mobilizations against Hassidic Jews in Brooklyn's Crown Heights a decade ago, or the boycott of a Korean grocer and anti-Asian violence today. And, as always, in race war it is blacks who lose.

Many black newspapers and fans blasted Public Enemy for capitulating to their record company and firing Griff (who was later rehired but banned from media contact) by the group. No doubt these fans thought that if the white power structure was in an uproar, then Public Enemy must have done something right. They're wrong. It was the lynch rope murder of a Jew, Leo Frank, that marked the mass resurgence of the race-hate terrorists of the KKK in the 1920s, and in this country white racists still have Jews as well as blacks in their cross hairs. Farrakhan's anti-Semitism and opposition to racial integration has put



Cammuso/Syracuse World Journal

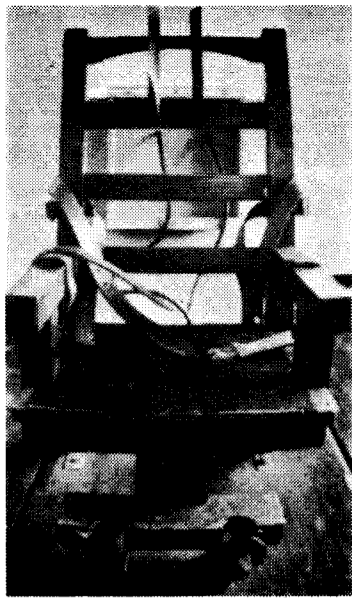
him in direct cahoots with Klansmen like Tom Metzger who donated money to this sinister demagogue.

A Racist Double Standard

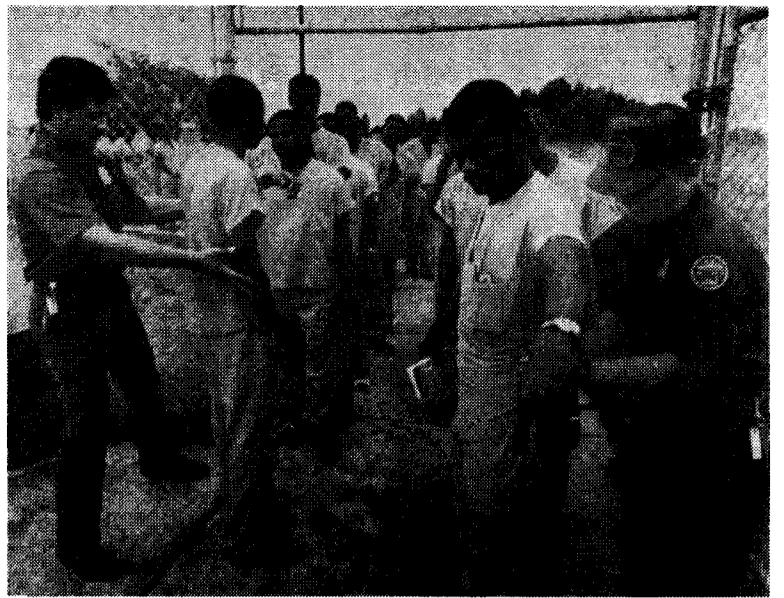
The mainstream media does its part to encourage police repression of black rappers by whipping up white fear and hatred. "Rap Rage" was *Newsweek's* March 19 cover, while *Time* worried about rap's "racial boosterism...delivered by young, self-consciously arrogant black men in a society where black youths make many whites uneasy." It's a racist double standard. There is an ominous upsurge of filthy racist white entertainers like Axl Rose of Guns n' Roses and "comedians" Andrew Dice Clay and Sam Kinison. Yet when Rose spews racist filth in such songs as "One in a Million," and Clay makes "jokes" about AIDS victims, they are lauded for breaking "taboos." This is no fringe phenomenon, and has far surpassed the neo-fascist skinhead scum around British "Oi" music. *This is music for the mainstream in a time of resurgent racism.*

Axl Rose brings entire audiences to their feet with Klan-like tirades like "N----rs...get out of my way." In his spare time, Axl Rose likes to cruise the gay strip of Hollywood hurling insults at gays. Guns n' Roses' "Welcome to the Jungle," the unofficial theme song of the U.S. military's bloody rape of Panama, was blasted along with bullets outside the Papal Nunciature where Noriega was holed up. White frat rats like to get tanked up listening to this stuff before they go out and bash blacks on college campuses. This is music for the Benson-

The real obscenity: Florida leads U.S. in juvenile executions, locks up Haitian refugees in Krome Avenue concentration camp (right).



Bob Sherman



Salyer/NY Times

hurst gang that murdered Yusuf Hawkins for the "crime" of being black in a white neighborhood. No harmonious "We Are the World" fantasies for these white thugs—they want and they're getting riffs to rampage by. What the popularity of pigs like Guns n' Roses represents is the reality of America today—that it's OK to be a racist, *if you're white.*

In *Newsweek's* "rap rage" piece, "the disinterment of the word 'nigger'" is called the "most visible contribution" to rap music's "Culture of Attitude." But the pervasive use of the word "nigger" by rappers reflects a profound, if unconscious, demoralization and self-hatred. Living Colour, the only black heavy metal group in the country, showed guts when they opened for the Rolling Stones in L.A.'s Memorial Coliseum after Axl

Rose drew cheers for screaming racial epithets. The next night, black guitarist Vernon Reid calmly took the mike and told the crowd, "If you don't have a problem with gay people, don't call them faggots. If you don't have a problem with black people, don't call them niggers. I never met a nigger in my life."

Like a reborn Booker T. Washington, Farrakhan blames black people for their own oppression and, like other nationalist hustlers, worships the accomplished fact of segregation in order to push their own ambitions: to politically control and economically exploit "their" people, "their" market. Farrakhan hated Malcolm X for breaking with the Black Muslims, in part over the question of self-defense against racist attacks, and issued a death threat against Malcolm shortly before he

was assassinated. Farrakhan's "community control" separatism, a despairing answer to racism, is very different from the militant self-defense of the Panthers, who were hunted down by the racist FBI and red squads who killed 38 Panther leaders through the deadly COINTELPRO program. Several who survived are still rotting in jails, among them Mumia Abu-Jamal on death row in Pennsylvania, and Geronimo Pratt in California.

The Panthers never made the links to the powerful, integrated working class which should have been mobilized with its tremendous social power in the fight for black rights. What we need today is a working-class revolution against the whole stinking system of racist capitalism. That's the way to "fight the powers that be." ■

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 12)

on June 28 and wind up July 14 in Chicago, Oakland and Jamal's hometown of Philadelphia. Civil rights activists, death penalty abolitionists and elected officials have joined together in this crucial fight against racist "legal" lynchings. The past three weeks have brought important breakthroughs in winning union support—the force with the social power to save Jamal from the executioner's hands.

The president of the Toronto Labour Council, Linda Torney, addressed Pennsylvania governor Casey: "I am writing to you on behalf of the 180,000 trade unionists affiliated to the Labour Council of Metro Toronto and York Region to urge you to use your powers as Governor to commute the death sentence imposed upon Mumia Abu-Jamal..." The Labour Council endorsed the July 4 demonstration outside the U.S. Consulate in Toronto. Other endorsers include Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 391, Vancouver; Telecommunications Workers Union Local 1 Executive Council, Vancouver; and United Transportation Union Local 483, Toronto.

Faced with wholesale attacks on their living standards and government efforts to snuff the life out of their unions, the integrated labor movement in the U.S. is coming forward on Jamal's behalf. Speakers at rallies will include officials from Transport Workers Union Local 100 (NYC transit); IAM District 100 (Eastern Airlines); Social Service Employees Union Local 371; International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 808; NABET Local 15; District 65 UAW; Amalgamated Transit Union. On the West Coast, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6 and Local 10, and Oakland Education Association/CTA/NEA; and RWDSU Local 1034 in Philadelphia.

In Jamal's hometown, the Philly chapter of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union, SEIU Local 668, designated Raymond Martinez Jr. to speak in its name. And in a recent letter Linda Riggins, president of Atlanta's SEIU Local 679,

advised Casey, "my local opposes the death penalty," and demanded, "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die. In the name of Freedom 'Let My People Go'."

Overseas the labor movement has also come forward to save Philadelphia's "voice of the voiceless." From London, Jamal's colleagues in the National Union of Journalists wrote Governor Casey, "on behalf of journalists throughout Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland we beg you not to allow this barbaric sentence to be carried out." Workers in London's multiracial transport unions have enthusiastically embraced Jamal's fight. The Finsbury Park branch of the National Union of Railwaymen has endorsed the July 6 London rally and designated its chairman G. Watson to speak as its representative.

Oppressed minorities, opponents of racist terror and leftist organizations are rallying to Jamal's cause. Our comrades of the Partisan Defence Committee in Britain received signed petitions from Scotland, Wales and Leicester, cut out of London's *Caribbean Times* newspaper.

In Paris *L'Humanité* (22 June), the newspaper of the French Communist Party, reported on "An American Black Man in Danger." Speaking at the June 29 rally in Paris organized by the Comité de Défense Sociale will be Robert Pac, of the American Commission of the Movement Against Racism (MRAP). Also, the French Commission of Justice and Peace wrote Governor Casey on June 4.

In Germany former DDR prime minister Hans Modrow has endorsed the July 3 protests to be held in Berlin and Hamburg, and the AGIPA-Press has initiated a protest action in Bremen. Down under in Australia, where the PDC-organized rally will be held July 12, the Sydney University student newspaper *Honi Soit* carried a major piece on Jamal.

The link between the brutal oppression of black political prisoners by the South African apartheid regime (where, unlike the U.S., executions have been put on hold), and the Jim Crow death penalty in the U.S. was brought to crowds across North America who came to see Nelson Mandela. But while Mandela was silent on the desperate situation of blacks in the U.S., and his wife Winnie praised Harlem's black masses for their "patience," many eagerly supported the cause of the

champion of black rights fighting for his life in a Pennsylvania dungeon. Tens of thousands of rally leaflets were handed out, thousands signed petitions and many signed up to help the campaign.

At press time, in Mexico City the National University student council (CEU) unanimously passed a motion demanding Mumia's freedom. Over 20,000 people worldwide have signed petitions demanding Jamal must not die, and unions representing hundreds of thousands more are on record for him. "On behalf of 2800 members," Brian Charlton, president of

the Canadian Union of Postal Workers Vancouver Local, endorsers of the Toronto demonstration, wrote Governor Casey to stop the execution and to "do the right thing." Jamal's case is what the death penalty is all about. Join the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Get your union to take up the cause—bring your union brothers and sisters to the rallies. Make Jamal's fight your own. Contact the Partisan Defense Committee for campaign materials: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. Telephone: (212) 406-4252. ■

International Campaign of Protest to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal

New York Rally

June 28, 7:00 p.m.

Associated Musicians of Greater New York, Local 802, 330 West 42nd Street
For more information: (212) 406-4252

Philadelphia Rally

July 14, 2:00 p.m.

Church of the Advocate
18th and Diamond Sts.
For more information: (215) 222-7880

Oakland Rally

July 14, 7:30 p.m.

ILWU Local 6 Hall
99 Hegenberger Road
For more information: (415) 839-0852

Chicago Rally

July 14, 2:00 p.m.

The Blackstone Hotel
636 S. Michigan Avenue
For more information: (312) 663-0719

Paris

June 29, 7:00 p.m.

LSC,
69ter rue de la Chapelle

Hamburg

July 3, 4:00 p.m.

USA-Generalkonsulat
Alsterufer 27-28

Berlin, DDR

July 3, 4:00 p.m.

USA-Botschaft
Neustädtische Kirchstr. 4-5

Toronto

July 4, 5:30 p.m.

U.S. Consulate
360 University Avenue

London

July 6, 7:00 p.m.

Lambeth Town Hall
Brixton Hill

Sydney

July 12, 7:30 p.m.

Tom Mann Theatre
136-140 Chalmers St.
Surry Hills

WORKERS VANGUARD

Rap, Rock and Race in the U.S.A.

Rap, the wildly popular music which emerged in the '80s from the black ghettos of New York and Los Angeles, has long been accused by self-appointed "guardians of morality" of inciting youth to violence, drugs and screwing. But to the horror of religious fundamentalists and racists, this music from the streets has become a phenomenon nationwide, attracting integrated audiences to its blend of rhymes, put-downs and dance music.

Young Spartacus

In the Deep South, rap music collided head-on with racist state repression when two members of the Miami-based rap group 2 Live Crew were arrested June 10 on obscenity charges. 2 Live Crew transgressed the ultimate taboo in the unreconstructed South: *interracial sex*. The spectacle of white girls bumping and grinding to the beat of black males rapping about their "wild thang" was judged an "obscenity" by the forces of "law and order" who have always made defense of Southern "white womanhood" a pretext for a lynch mob against blacks. On their way home after a concert in Hollywood, Florida at 3:05 a.m. Luther "Luke Skywalker" Campbell and Chris "Fresh Kid Ice" Won Wong were pulled over to the side of the road by cops and hauled into



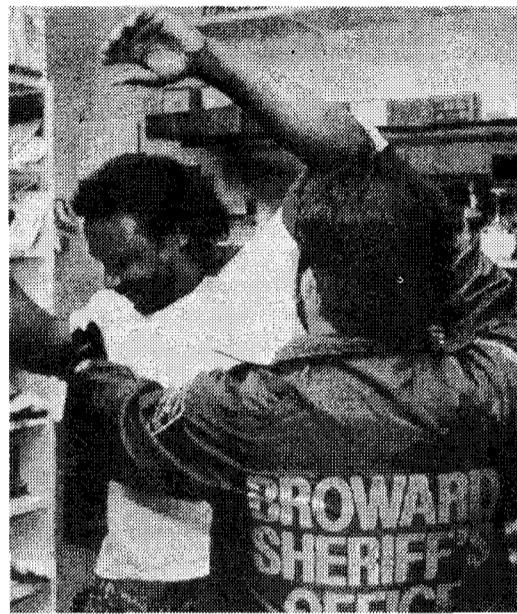
Miami rappers 2 Live Crew (left). Record seller Charles Freeman arrested by Florida sheriff's deputies (right) for selling album declared "obscene" by judge.

jail while arrest warrants were issued for the other two band members, David "Mr. Mixx" Hobbs and Mark "Brother Marquis" Ross.

Declaring "philistines are not always wrong," U.S. District Court Judge Jose Gonzalez ruled two days earlier that all 18 songs on 2 Live Crew's platinum album *As Nasty as They Wanna Be*, released over a year ago, were "obscene" and possessed "no serious artistic, scientific or literary value." As the saying goes, "perversion" is what you aren't into. This government has *no business*

regulating what people of any age can read, watch or listen to! Rap music, which grew out of street games like "playing the dozens" (escalating strings of insults), aims to offend, and often does. A black kid who raps is trying to shock, to say "Look at me, I exist!" to a society that has determined black youth are simply an expendable surplus population and dispenses with them through prison, cop terror on the streets and lifetime unemployment.

The prescient social commentator/comedian Lenny Bruce, who was hound-



ed to his untimely death by bigoted "morality," exposed bourgeois hypocrisy when he asked, "What's wrong with appealing to the prurient interest? We appeal to the *killing* interest." The real obscenity is capitalist "justice" in the state of Florida: the "Sunshine State" leads the country in execution of juveniles, interns black Haitian refugees in brutal concentration camps, hounds homosexuals, and forces hundreds of teenage girls in need of abortions to flee the state's "squeal rule" and have them

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Black Journalist on Death Row

Worldwide Support Builds for Mumia Abu-Jamal

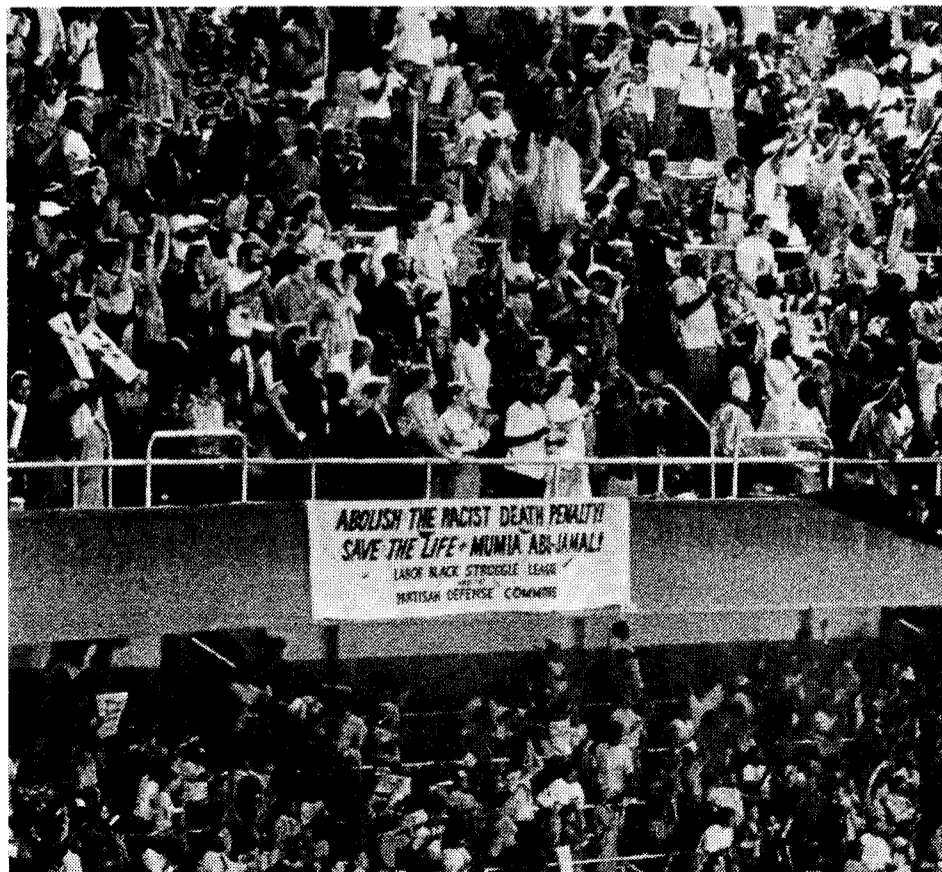
"Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" "Retter das Leben von Mumia Abu-Jamal!" "Mumia Abu-Jamal ne doit pas mourir!" Every day, in union halls, college campuses and urban ghettos—across the country and around the world—the demand is being shouted. As South African black leader Nelson Mandela spoke at Yankee Stadium, a banner in the stands proclaimed, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

The cause of the 36-year-old black journalist on death row in Pennsylvania is the rallying cry for opponents of the racist death penalty USA. A former Black Panther Party spokesman, well-known journalist and prominent supporter

of the MOVE organization, Jamal was framed on charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman in 1981. Last year Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson summed it up, "Mumia's trial was a farce.... It was clear, to anyone whose eyes are open to racism, that Mumia had been framed for his political beliefs.... An innocent man has been sentenced to die."

To mark the eighth anniversary of Jamal's sentencing, the Partisan Defense Committee has initiated two weeks of international protest to build the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal's life. Rallies and protests begin in New York

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Yankee Stadium, June 21—Partisan Defense Committee raises call to save Mumia Abu-Jamal at Mandela rally.